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# THE JEWISH CASE

The Place of Palestine  
In the Solution of the Jewish Question

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## I. THE JEWISH SURVIVORS IN EUROPE

**N**O REPRESENTATIVE of the Jewish people will participate in the San Francisco Conference. No official spokesman of Hitler's chief victim will take part in the deliberations, but the calamity which has struck the Jews of Europe cannot be ignored. The mass murder of five million innocent men, women, and children weighs heavily upon the conscience of the world. Though restitution cannot be offered to those who have perished in the Nazi slaughterhouses, the future of the survivors is still in the balance. The United Nations must concern themselves with their fate.

The events of the past years have demonstrated with iron logic how inextricably the question of international security is bound up with the just solution of national problems. Of these problems none is so pressing as that of the Jewish people. It is urgent because of the catastrophe which has overtaken the Jews of Europe. But there is another reason of which the world should take note. The continued failure to meet the question of Jewish national homelessness creates an anomalous situation which provides a breeding-ground for savage impulses and barbaric prejudices. We have witnessed how the adroit fascist exploitation of Judeophobia made an international issue of local events. We have seen the involvement of the world in a holocaust first descending upon a weak minority. The abnormal status of the Jewish people made possible the use of the scapegoat technique. The method has not been abandoned. It is still the prime card of the Nazi underground which proposes to recoup Axis losses in the future. However, by this time the world must realize that not only the scapegoat perishes when primitive forces of violence and fanaticism are unleashed. The conditions which made the zoological anti-Semitism of the Hitler decade possible must not be permitted to remain.

Victory will not automatically solve the Jewish question. Though we may take for granted the cessation of massacre and the eventual restoration of civil rights after the final defeat of the Nazis, the problem will still remain acute. The situation in the liberated countries already makes this clear.

Of the six million European Jews outside of the U. S. S. R. and the British Isles, probably less than two million remain alive. It is the greatest proportion of loss suffered by a people in the history of mankind.

The condition of the survivors is wretched beyond belief. They have emerged from their hiding-places in cellars, in caves, in forests, broken in spirit and body. And instead of welcome they frequently discover indifference or actual enmity when they return to their former homes. The following situation obtains:

1. In most countries where the restitution of Jewish property has been officially proclaimed, it has not been carried out. In some instances, Jews were met with revolvers upon coming to claim their dwellings.

2. In many cases, returning Jews discover that their former positions or means of employment have been taken over by non-Jews. They can find no gainful employment.

3. The legacy of anti-Semitism left by the German hordes cannot be immediately wiped out. Even those kindly disposed to the Jews allege that as long as the war lasts, the people, poisoned as they are with the virus of anti-Semitism, must not be irritated. Many Gentiles who did a great deal to rescue Jews from the Nazis do not look with favor upon the reappearance of Jews in non-Jewish districts. Because of the intensity of anti-Semitic feeling in certain localities, Poles who helped Jews now fear to be openly identified as their saviors.

4. Newly formed governments and returning governments-in-exile, primarily concerned with the millions of "their own" citizens who seek to reestablish themselves, are annoyed by the claims of a small group of Jews, which seem likely to arouse evil instincts among the non-Jewish majority. Not only friendly Christians but Jews, too, urge a policy of humble resignation, and deprecate the pressing of claims.

5. In some countries officials formerly active under the Germans, who themselves had persecuted and robbed the Jews, still retain their posts. These officials would like to rid themselves of the Jews who are unpleasant reminders of their former misdeeds. One need not be surprised, therefore, that Jews are to this day being killed in liberated Poland, liberated Lithuania and other countries.

Details vary. There are deviations from the general scheme, some for the better, some worse. But this is the over-all picture of the Jewish situation in the liberated countries. To subject the surviving Jews of Europe, already sick in body and spirit, to the further struggle of coping with a hostile environment—be this hostility tacit or outspoken—is cruel and impracticable. The large mass must be given an opportunity to make a fresh start in new surroundings with new hopes.

This does not mean that full restitution must not be made to the victims of Nazi spoilage or that the Jews should relinquish their demand for full citizenship with all its rights and privileges in the body politic of Europe. Thousands of native Jews in Western Europe will reintegrate themselves happily into their respective countries of origin. But the survivors in Germany, Poland, Rumania, or any other country where the Nazis left a deep imprint and reinforced an indigenous anti-Semitism of considerable proportions, should not be forced to return to the scenes of their former agony. They have the right to ask for an existence amid surround-

ings of good will and sympathy, where they can rebuild a life of dignity and security for themselves and their children.

## II. OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMMIGRATION

It is obvious that opportunities for the large scale immigration of Jewish refugees will have to be created even in the postwar world. It would be idle to exaggerate the possibilities of entrance into the countries of the Western hemisphere. No matter how much we may deplore the fact, indications point to a tightening of immigration restrictions in the United States and other lands on the American continent. The likelihood that immigration bars will be let down to any appreciable degree is, at present, extremely remote. In view of this, it would be fanciful to speculate on a more liberal immigration policy in the Americas in the near future.

It is equally unrealistic to assume that the problem of Jewish homelessness can be met by the provision of some undeveloped territory in tropical or sub-Arctic regions. The very names of some of the territories recently suggested, indicate their unsuitability for immediate large-scale European colonization. British Guiana, Madagascar, Tanganyika and Alaska are only a few of the places that have been proposed.

If we take British Guiana as an example of a territory suggested, we discover features shared in varying degrees by most of the offers. In 1938 the British Government made a tentative offer of land for settlement in its colony of British Guiana on the northeastern coast of South America. Only 5 per cent of Guiana's population of 337,000 is European, the majority being East Indian and Negro. Most of the population lives in the coastal area which was specifically excluded from the offer. Refugees were to be permitted to settle only in an interior area consisting of tropical forests, savannahs and mountains. Neither railroads nor suitable roads connect the interior with the coastal region. The chief means of communication is airplane. Discussion of plans for settlement was interrupted by the outbreak of hostilities.

That practical results would in any case have ever been attained is extremely unlikely. Suggestions such as the British Guiana project rarely get beyond the trial-balloon stage, because examination reveals the essential unsubstantiality of the offer. The refugee problem cannot be solved by the creation of a series of Devil's Islands in remote and primitive places, be they disease-ridden tropical jungles or inaccessible plains. At the peak of the Nazi terror, any alternative to outright massacre had to be seriously considered. Unfortunately, during the period when any asylum would have been welcome, if only as a stop-gap measure to save Jews from deportation to the extermination centers of the Nazis, no adequate steps were

taken to effect such rescue. Today this argument, the only one which could have been advanced in favor of colonization projects such as British Guiana or Madagascar, no longer holds good.

We cannot expect the crushed survivors of Nazi persecution to summon the enormous pioneering energy required for settlement in an environment whose climate and physical conditions would tax the sturdiest body and most vigorous spirit. Experience has shown that even colonization projects carried on under more favorable climatic and economic conditions have failed when they lacked the driving power and inspiration of a national ideal. The much heralded experiment at San Domingo came to nothing. Jewish rural settlement in Argentina proved abortive despite financial assistance and government encouragement. An urban people cannot generate the power needed to transform itself into a people of farmers and manual laborers without the compulsive passion of an ideal. Only Palestine, to which the Jewish people is bound by history and tradition, has proven itself capable of arousing the psychic, as well as physical energy required for the struggle of the pioneer. In Palestine, the Jew has felt that he is building a homeland and a nation, not merely a shelter for his person. This sense of dedication to a vision transcending the individual has been the source of the heroic strength and adaptability displayed by the Jewish settler in Palestine.

### III. PALESTINE, THE CHIEF HOPE

The pre-conditions essential to successful Jewish colonization have, because of century-old historic bonds, always existed in Palestine. The conditions have been created in the past few decades. It is now merely a question of expanding and developing a beginning whose vitality and promise of growth have outstripped the dreams of the most optimistic and confounded the most sceptical. All territorial schemes proposed instead of Palestine are, at best, temporary palliatives; at worst, edicts of exile into voluntary penal colonies for those convicted of the crime of Jewish blood. None of them merits the huge expenditure of funds required for an initial attempt on even the barest scale. Certainly, none of them justifies the waste of precious human life involved.

Let us assume that after a period of years a Jewish nucleus could be formed somewhere in the tropics of South America or Africa, and that after prodigious effort, Jewish settlers could succeed in converting a tropical forest into a civilized community, that in short, they would be able to repeat the miracle of Palestine even without the special impulse that springs from its soil. What guarantee is there that the native population, which no doubt would increase in number and flourish due to the new

standards of living introduced, would not after twenty years develop a convenient belligerent nationalism and lay claim to the former jungle or forest? No territorial offer so far made avoids the difficulties which have been encountered in Palestine. Each one multiplies whatever disadvantages have been met and possesses none of the advantages. Jewish settlement without the status of a homeland would present no fundamental solution of the Jewish problem. The curse of homelessness must be lifted from the Jewish people for their sake and for the sake of the world. They must be enabled to concentrate their spiritual and material resources on one objective which promises to provide a permanent and constructive answer to Jewish needs instead of dissipating them on dubious adventures and make-shift experiments.

This focusing of the Jewish national will on Palestine is neither capricious nor obstinately sentimental. It springs from an organic attachment which has affected the life of the Jewish people through all the centuries of their dispersion. The bond between them and their birthplace has never been severed. Since the Roman conquest, though scattered in all the corners of the earth, Jews have steadfastly mourned the loss of the cradle of their civilization and prayed for the Return. Their laws, their customs and their rituals bear witness to the intensity of this fixation on the land of their origin and the scene of their emergence as a people. The idea of the restoration of the people of Israel to the land of Israel has been a dominant element in Judaism for nearly two thousand years. In every generation, attempts have been made to realize this hope. There has never been a period since the fall of the Jewish State when some Jews were not living in Palestine; though the numbers were small, Jewish occupancy of the land has been continuous.

The idea of restoration has for generations also been an accepted part of Christian religious tradition. The concept of the return of the Jew to Palestine suffuses the Christian dream of the Millenium—the era when wrongs will be righted and ultimate justice will triumph. No matter what weight is given to religious views, it is important to bear in mind that a Jewish Palestine has long been familiar to world thought not only as a fact in ancient history but as an integral part of a regenerated future. Christians, as well as Jews, have perceived and honored the indissoluble bond between the Jewish people and its historic land. The claim based on "historic connection" is a vital one; the general recognition of it is a tribute to a living tie, never cut. One cannot dismiss the force of a longing which has persisted unabated for two thousand years.

Nor should one forget that once fertile Palestine became denuded and barren in the centuries of exile. It was no rich and flourishing land on which the Jewish people fixed its hopes and its imagination, but a ruin of marsh and desert. Zionism means not only the restoration of the people, but the restoration of the land. Both processes have begun.

#### IV. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT

Awareness of the unique connection between the Jews and Palestine was responsible for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917. This famous pronouncement took cognizance of the special need of the Jewish people for a homeland and of the special reasons which made Palestine the inevitable choice for the fulfillment of this need. The text of the Balfour Declaration reads:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This Declaration was not a hasty wartime expedient, nor did it represent a purely British commitment. Before the Declaration was made public, it had been the subject of extensive discussion between Great Britain and her Allies, and had first been approved by President Wilson on behalf of the United States.

After the issuance of the Declaration, it was publicly endorsed by the French and Italian Governments, on February 14 and May 9, 1918, respectively. The Supreme Council of the Allied Nations, meeting in San Remo on April 25, 1920, unanimously adopted the Balfour Declaration and incorporated it in the Mandate for Palestine. Finally the League of Nations made it the official policy of the fifty-two member nations, when the Council of the League unanimously ratified the British Mandate with the Balfour Declaration incorporated. At approximately the same time (June 30, 1922), the Congress of the United States unanimously passed a resolution favoring "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

The statesmen responsible for the Balfour Declaration were fully aware of its significance. David Lloyd George, Prime Minister when the Balfour Declaration was issued, stated its original intent to the Royal Commission sent to Palestine in 1937 to investigate the Arab riots:

It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never

entered into the head of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing.

Other British statesmen, such as Lord Robert Cecil, Sir Herbert Samuel and Winston Churchill (all members of the Lloyd George cabinet), were equally explicit. Their written and spoken comments have left no doubt that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a Jewish State.

The voice of the United States was as plain-spoken. President Wilson declared on March 3, 1919:

That the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.

This had been made clear also in the Outline of *Tentative Report and Recommendations* prepared for President Wilson and the plenipotentiaries by the Intelligence Section of the American delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference.

It was there recommended that Palestine be placed under Great Britain as a mandatory of the League of Nations, and

That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish State as soon as it is a Jewish State in fact.

It is obvious from the above that the Governments who formulated and approved the Balfour Declaration did so with a full appreciation of the great historic responsibility they had undertaken: They perceived from the outset where the road led and they knew that it was precisely this goal and direction which gave meaning to colonization in Palestine.

The attempt to devitalize the Balfour Declaration, to constrict its scope and whittle down its substance, has proven one of the sorriest chapters in British colonial policy. The statesmen who declared themselves in favor of an eventual Jewish Commonwealth had not failed to take into account the existence of a native population. The Balfour Declaration made specific provision for the safeguarding of the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. The presence of 600,000 local Arabs was not ignored. However, the underlying assumption of the Declaration was that while over 97 per cent of the huge Arab territories liberated by the Allies would be devoted to the setting up of independent Arab states, the "small notch" of Palestine was to be reserved for the creation of a Jewish State.

Arab consent and support, as will be shown later, was at first forthcoming. But as Jewish colonization took root and showed every promise

of brilliant success, opposition fomented largely by the reactionary Effendi class developed. The British Government met the nascent antagonism with a series of self-defeating concessions. Had the Arabs been faced at once with the full authority possessed by an international agreement validated by international law, Arab intransigence could never have assumed more than the proportions of an easily controlled local disturbance. The rights and wrongs of Arab opposition will be discussed subsequently. At this point it is important to note that a consistent policy of retreat from the sense of the Balfour Declaration served merely to encourage further violence and recalcitrance.

## V. THE WHITTLING DOWN OF THE PLEDGE

When a small group of Arab extremists incited their followers to riot, they were rewarded by the issuance of the White Paper of 1922 which offered a fresh interpretation of the Balfour Declaration. This document asserted that a Jewish National Home should be founded "in Palestine," rather than that all of Palestine should be converted into a Jewish National Home. It announced that further Jewish immigration should be governed by "the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals." Most important of all, Palestine was truncated. Transjordan, originally a part of Palestine and an area two and a half times the size of cis-Jordan, the land west of the Jordan, was cut away from the Jewish National Home, reducing its size by approximately two thirds. The same White Paper, nevertheless, did admit that the Jews were in Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance."

This document marked the beginning of a process of progressive capitulation and breach of faith. The nadir was reached in the White Paper of 1939 which in effect closed the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and doomed the Jewish community to the status of a permanent minority.

The British Administration in Palestine reflected the policy of the Colonial Office. Just as the successive reinterpretations of the Balfour Declaration strove to minimize the extent of the international commitment to the Jewish people, so the British officials whose function it was to carry out the Mandate, sought to check the constructive energies of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. This was not due to the hostility or deliberate malice of any individual official. On the contrary, the various High Commissioners and other officials undoubtedly tried to carry out the policies of His Majesty's Government to the best of their abilities. What was lacking from the outset was a clear-cut appreciation of the fact that the purpose of the Mandate was to create a Jewish National Home. Consequently, the Palestine Administration went on the theory that

Jewish development should not outstrip Arab development. Arab and Jewish progress should maintain the same pace. In practice, this naturally meant that Jewish development had to be held back artificially, whereas preferential treatment was given to the Arab population. Though the Jews contributed a far larger share of the government revenue, the Arabs received far more government assistance in the provision of educational, health and other services. The exact proportion of government funds received by each element of the population is not the issue at stake. What is significant is the policy denoted—the attempt to retard the development of the Jewish National Home to the tempo of the native population.

Another complicating factor was the "colonial" mentality of those entrusted with the administration of the Mandate. Many of the officials, familiar with the standards of life in other British Colonial dependencies and the methods of administration prevalent there, were psychologically incapable of the new outlook demanded by the special needs and circumstances of Palestine. The creative effort required to rebuild a land and a people demanded a degree of sympathy and imagination impossible among men accustomed to thinking in terms of "natives" and quiescent colonial dependencies.

## VI. JEWISH ACHIEVEMENT IN PALESTINE

Yet despite the lack of an encouraging political climate, despite the administrative attempts to retard its growth, Jewish Palestine since the Mandate presents a well-nigh miraculous story of achievement. Nothing better emphasizes the contrast between what the Jewish settlers found and what they accomplished in the course of a scant twenty-five years than the following description taken from the Report of the British Civil Administration for 1920-21:

The country . . . is undeveloped and under-populated. The methods of agriculture are, for the most part, primitive; the area of land now cultivated could yield a far greater product. There are in addition large cultivable areas that are left untilled. The summits and slopes of the hills are admirably suited to the growth of trees, but there are no forests. Miles of sand dunes that could be redeemed are untouched, a danger by their encroachment, to the neighboring tillage. The Jordan and the Yarmuk offer an abundance of water-power; but it is unused. Some industries—fishing and the culture and manufacture of tobacco are examples—have been killed by Turkish laws; none have been encouraged; the markets of Palestine and of the neighboring countries are supplied almost wholly from Europe. The sea borne commerce, such as it is, is loaded and discharged in the open roadsteads of Jaffa and Haifa; there are no harbors. . . . The country is underpopulated because of this lack of development. There are in the whole of Palestine hardly 700,000

people, a population much less than that of the province of Galilee alone in the time of Christ.

This is the testimony not of an observer who might be accused of bias, but of an official British report. One can use this passage as a text and point out what Jewish energy and self-sacrifice have wrought in each sphere mentioned. Thanks to the labor of Jewish pioneers the desert areas are fertile. Trees have been planted on the denuded slopes. Tel-Aviv, a great modern city of 200,000 inhabitants, has been built on the very sand dunes which threatened to encroach upon the "neighboring tillage." The abundance of water-power of the Jordan and Yarmuk is no longer "unused." These ancient rivers have been harnessed for electrical production and the whole country is supplied with electrical energy. One hundred and three million kilowatt hours were marketed in 1941 for purposes of irrigation, industrial power, lighting and electrical appliances. The vast mineral chemical resources of the Dead Sea are under exploitation and can be expected to serve as the basis of a great chemical industry.

Instead of a few primitive handicrafts, there are today 2,000 factories and 400 small work-shops which manufacture a wide range of products such as textiles, leather goods, chemicals, cement, electrical equipment, glassware, metalware, etc. Haifa has become the third largest harbor in the eastern Mediterranean, and Tel-Aviv has a port of its own.

Significant as the industrialization of Palestine is, the most startling change of all has been that produced by Jewish agriculture. Of the 600,000 Jews today in Palestine, over 150,000 live on and from the soil. Orange, grapefruit and lemon groves, vineyards, wheat-fields and vegetable gardens now flourish in the former swamps and waste-lands. This transformation was made possible by drainage, irrigation and the introduction of modern scientific methods. New water resources, which for centuries had lain hidden, have been discovered and utilized through the ingenuity of Jewish farmers. But the chief factor responsible for the miracle of present-day Palestine has been the single-hearted readiness of the Jewish pioneer to struggle bare-handed against inconceivable odds—disease, danger and privation. A dramatic example of this fierce devotion can be seen today on the northern shores of the Dead Sea. A group of young pioneers, mostly boys and girls who have been rescued from Germany, have set themselves the task of leaching the salt-impregnated soil of the Dead Sea valley. In the terrific heat of this region, 1200 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, these young people are literally washing the soil free from salt, foot by foot, and so are steadily increasing the cultivable area of the homeland. They not only produce most of their own food on this soil of their creation, but already have a surplus of fruits and vegetables for sale.

Add to this reclamation of the soil, the reclamation of the country from malaria, typhoid and trachoma through the introduction of sanita-

tion measures, medical services and hospitals, and swamp drainage, and one begins to understand how it was possible for the total population of Palestine to grow from 752,000 in 1922 to 1,606,000 in 1942. Both Arabs and Jews have gained in numbers. Although the percentage of the Jewish gain has been larger, the absolute increase in numbers of the Arabs, amounting to about 450,000, has exceeded that of the Jews.

So far only concrete and readily calculable instances of Jewish achievement in Palestine have been cited. One should also note that the almost superhuman demands of the physical task before the settlers have not prevented the flowering of an intense intellectual life. The emergence of a Hebrew culture went hand-in-hand with economic development. The Hebrew language has been revived. A network of schools and high schools, culminating in the Hebrew University, covers the country. Creation in literature and the arts, significant research in various fields of medicine and science, have again made Jewish Palestine one of the chief cultural centers of the Orient.

Nor should one disregard the dynamic influence of the new social vision which Jewish settlers have brought with them. Jewish Palestine today is an outpost of advanced economic and political institutions in the feudal or semi-feudal Near East. In Palestine there has been not only a physical rebirth. The entire cultural and political atmosphere has been galvanized by the introduction of liberal social and economic concepts. Jewish Palestine has an organized labor movement which, in proportion to the size of the population, is one of the most powerful in the world. One Jew in every four is a member of the *Histadruth* (General Federation of Jewish Labor). Organized labor is the greatest single force in the building of the Jewish homeland. Through a wide-flung system of cooperative enterprises in housing, health insurance, producers' and consumers' cooperatives, even in banking, the individual worker is able to participate effectively in the upbuilding of the country, while at the same time assuring the progressive character of the social structure erected.

The cooperative agricultural settlements, in which thousands of workers live, have been repeatedly hailed as one of the purest forms of co-operative living to be seen anywhere. The adoption of this social form was motivated not solely by ideological considerations. The collective settlement sprang naturally from the economic and physical insecurity of the individual pioneer in a wilderness. From the practical point of view it was the most feasible way of extending the zone of Jewish colonization. At the same time, it gave expression to the social idealism which animated the workers who went to Palestine—their passionate desire neither to exploit nor to be exploited, but to rebuild Palestine by means of their own labor. It was this dedication to a national and social vision which made possible the transformation of a people of merchants and town-dwellers into one of farmers and laborers.

Had the war found two million instead of half a million Jews in Palestine, the task of the United Nations in the Middle East would have been greatly eased. Yet even this small nucleus proved its value, far out of proportion to its numerical size. The Jewish community in Palestine received 300,000 refugees, more than any other country in the world, despite the paralyzing effect of the White Paper policy and strong Arab opposition in which Arab States cooperated. For instance, Iraq for months refused to grant transit visas to Polish-Jewish refugee children brought to Iran. She persisted in this refusal despite the intercession of the British and American Governments.

Palestine Jewry put itself at the service not only of the tortured Jewish people, but of the Allied cause. All the resources of Palestinian Jewry, in manpower, productive capacity and scientific knowledge, were harnessed to the war effort. Jewish technicians and artisans were mobilized to perform urgent war tasks in the neighboring countries. A wide network of roads was built by Jewish engineers in Syria. Palestinian Jews designed and constructed a bridge across the Euphrates.

The food supply was increased through the establishment of new colonies, the expansion of existing settlements and the extension of the irrigated areas devoted to mixed farming. The production of potash, bromine and other chemicals important for warfare also vastly increased. In industry a great many new manufactures were introduced, including machinery and tools, spare parts for motor cars, textiles, home and kitchen utensils, building materials, electrical and medical instruments, and a wide range of chemical products. The diversification of the industrial effort was greatly facilitated by the presence of many highly qualified scientists and technicians who had come to the country as refugees in the preceding years. Palestine became the most important source of supplies for the Middle East war effort; it turned the corner from a mainly agricultural to a semi-industrialized country.

Besides the contributions made in agriculture and industry, Jewish medical and scientific institutes rendered important services to the military effort. Through the help they gave, working in cooperation with industry, the British armies were supplied with bandages, ether, drugs, vitamin B complex. Doctors, nurses and dentists came from Palestine to assist the British armies. The Hadassah-University Medical Center in Jerusalem placed its facilities at the disposal of the United Nations; the Jewish Agency's Agricultural Experimental Station at Rehoboth and the technical laboratories of the Hebrew University offered valuable services. The Meteorological Department prepared weather data about the Near and Middle East; the Department of Parasitology conducted courses in tropical medicine; anti-tetanus and typhoid serum were supplied to the Army Medical Corps; the Department of Oriental Studies furnished intelligence

service, with interpreters familiar with all the languages and dialects of the Middle East and African areas.

As far as direct military participation is concerned, Jewish Palestine, although as a mandated territory not subject to conscription, at once mobilized its manpower for service with the British army. Thirty thousand Jewish volunteers served in special units and distinguished themselves at Tobruk, El Alamein and Bir Hachim. Though in comparison with the astronomical figures involved in the present conflict, the number of Palestinian soldiers is not large, one must bear in mind that these volunteers represent an impressive proportion of the actual manpower of the country. From the outbreak of the war, the Jewish Agency had urgently demanded that a separate Jewish Army be formed so that Hitler's chief victims might have the opportunity of facing the enemy as a distinct Jewish military force. An army of over 200,000 stateless, refugee and Palestinian Jews could have been created. This plea was denied. Finally, after five years of delay, in September 1944, the British War Office acceded to these demands, and reports have already reached us of valiant fighting by the Jewish Brigade on the Italian Front.

In this sphere, as in the others enumerated, Jewish Palestine received little encouragement or recognition from the British Administration. The patriotic zeal of the Jewish volunteers presented too sharp a contrast to the apathy or hostility of the Arabs whose sympathies were largely with the Axis. In line with the policy of keeping both sectors of the population at the same pace, enlistment by Jews was at first discouraged. Later, the exploits of Jewish troops in the North African campaign were cautiously protected from publicity.

## VII. JEWISH COLONIZATION AND THE ARABS

What has been the effect of Jewish settlement on the Arab population of Palestine? The Jewish return to Palestine is unique in the history of colonization. It is one of the few instances on record where European colonization raised the standard of life of the native population. It has not been conducted through the exploitation of native labor. Instead of rich and fertile land being acquired for a few strings of beads, marsh and uninhabited desert were purchased at exorbitant prices. These are striking departures from the usual pattern of colonization in a backward area. But most revealing of all, this process, as already stated, has been accompanied by a great increase in the native population. Between 1920 to 1940, the Arab community nearly doubled, growing in size from 650,000 to over a million. To get the full impact of these figures one should compare this increase with the situation in Transjordan, which was lopped off from Palestine in 1922 and closed to Jewish immigration.

Though this country is also under a British Mandate, the population has remained static and impoverished.

The extraordinary increase of the Palestinian Arabs since Jewish colonization began is due partly to the immigration into Palestine of Arabs from neighboring countries who are attracted by the higher wages and better standards of living prevailing in Palestine. Chiefly, however, the increase is due to the improved health conditions introduced by Jewish nursing services and sanitation. The Arab birth rate is still at an extremely high level, but it is no longer counter-balanced by a high death rate. *As a result, the Palestinian Arabs have the highest rate of natural increase in the world.* So much for the myth of the "dispossessed" Arab.

The wage level and the standard of living of the Palestinian Arab are far higher than those of neighboring Arab countries, including Egypt. The Palestine Royal Commission Report of 1937 has admitted that Arab progress is largely due to Jewish endeavor. It is almost axiomatic to state that the prosperity of an Arab settlement is in direct ratio to its proximity to an area of Jewish settlement. Arabs have benefited from the development of the country through Jewish capital. They have learned modern methods of citriculture from the Jewish farmer. Arab industry has expanded. The exploited Arab masses are gradually becoming aware of progressive concepts in labor relations and social legislation. Because of the arrival of the Jewish settler the Arab of Palestine is healthier; he gets more pay for fewer hours of labor; and he has a higher rate of literacy. Jewish colonization has galvanized a stagnant land into an awareness of new and better ways of life.

Why then, despite all these tangible benefits, are the Arab spokesmen so bitter in their opposition to Zionism? On what do they rest their case? It is impossible for the Arabs to deny the uncontested statistical evidence which indicates the increased material well-being of the Arabs of Palestine, and a rate of progress quite beyond that of any purely Arab country in the Near East. Even the accusation that Arab tenant-farmers were being driven off the land through Jewish land purchase, and that a class of "landless" Arabs had been created, could not stand the test of examination. Despite the fact that the government of Palestine offered to finance the resettlement of Arab tenants who claimed to have been displaced by the sale of land, only a few hundred came forward to take up the land offered. The "landless" Arab driven from his soil is an untenable a myth as the "country-less" Arab, driven from his country. Paradoxically enough, *since the Balfour Declaration, Palestine has changed from a country of Arab emigration into one of Arab immigration—a phenomenon observable in none of the adjacent Arab countries who express solidarity with the supposedly wronged Arabs of Palestine.*

The Arab case, except for purposes of irresponsible propaganda, no longer bases itself on the contention that Arabs have been economically

or physically injured by Zionism. It rests solely on the demand of the Palestinian Arab for exclusive political domination. No matter how much they may prosper as individuals, Arabs do not wish to become a minority in Palestine as is likely to be the case if Jewish immigration is not hindered by artificial restrictions. Arabs want Palestine to become an independent Arab State or a part of a larger Arab political entity and not a Jewish Commonwealth. In this demand, the Arabs of Palestine are supported by the Arab states of Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Transjordan and Egypt.

## VIII. THE ARAB CASE

The Arab case is simple and intelligible. That does not mean that it is just. The Jewish case, rooted in need, memory and hope, cannot fall back on the palpable reality of actual possession, but it is, in its way, equally simple. If we disregard for the moment, such claims as "historic connection," or the precise legalistic nature of the commitments undertaken by the Allies at the close of World War I, we can formulate the case in terms of present equity: As a result of World War I, the Arab lands of Asia were liberated from Turkish rule by the Allies. Five Arab States—Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan—have been set up in an area covering about 1,200,000 square miles. All the Arab lands of Asia are included in this enormous, underpopulated area—with the exception of the 10,000 square miles of Western Palestine, which constitutes less than 1 per cent of the total area. Thus in 99 per cent of the liberated territories, the Arabs enjoy national sovereignty. Less than 1 per cent has been reserved for the Jewish people in the land of their fathers.

The agreement between Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann reached at the Peace Conference in 1919 is worth quoting in this connection. It sheds light on the reaction of the chief Arab spokesman at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued:

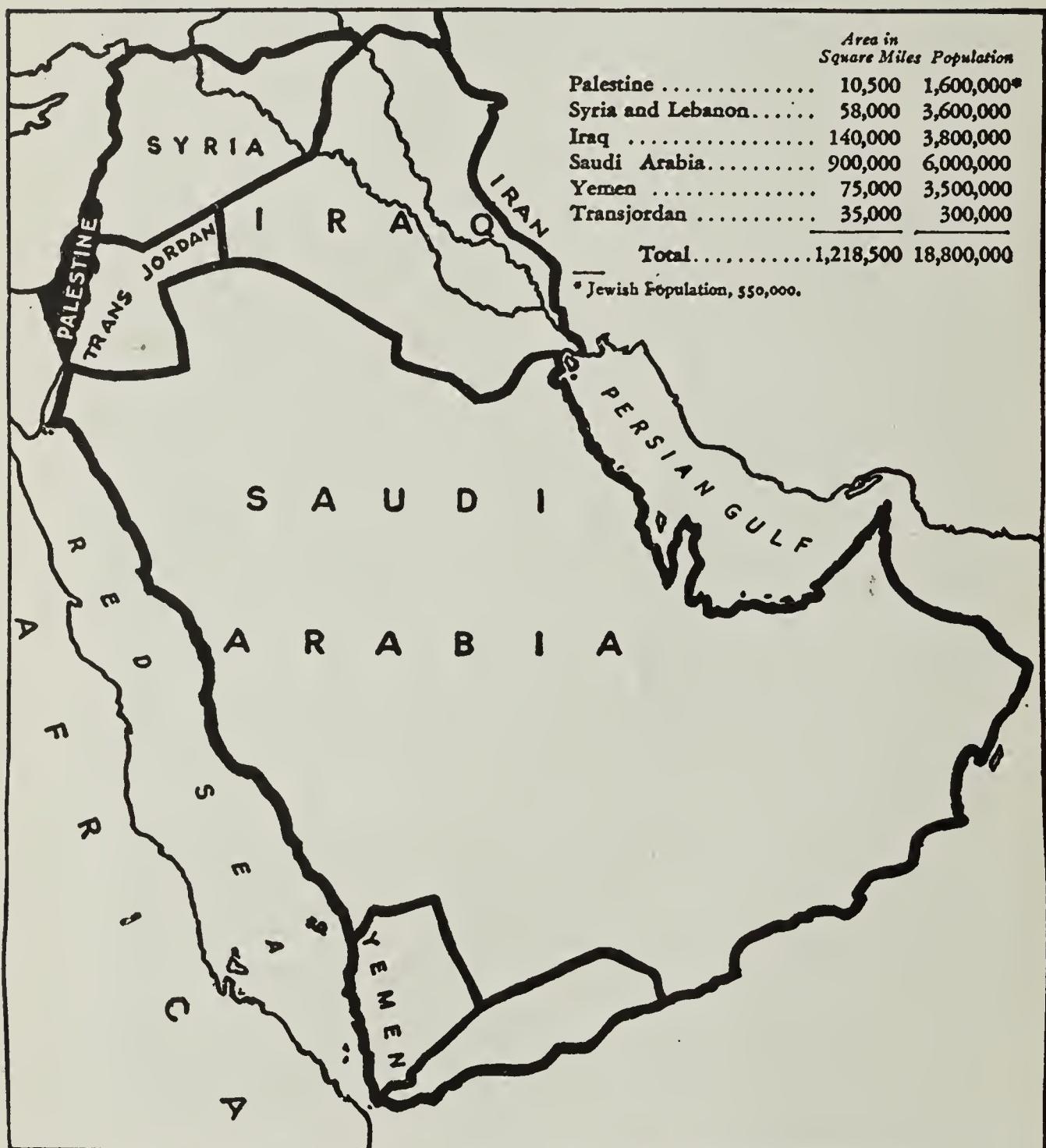
His Royal Highness the Emir Feisal, representing and acting on behalf of the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, representing and acting on behalf of the Zionist Organization, mindful of the racial kinship and ancient bonds existing between the Arabs and the Jewish people, and realizing that the surest means of working out the consummation of their national aspirations, is through the closest possible collaboration in the development of the Arab State and Palestine, and being desirous further of confirming the good understanding which exists between them, have agreed upon the following articles:

### I.

The Arab State and Palestine in all their relations and undertakings shall be controlled by the most cordial good will and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in their respective territories.

## PALESTINE AND THE ARAB LANDS

This area was freed from Turkey in the last war.  
Palestine constitutes less than 1% of the total territory.



### PALESTINE

is only 20% larger than Massachusetts. Because of intensive industrial development, the population of Massachusetts is 4,316,000, over 2½ times that of Palestine.

### SAUDI ARABIA

is over three times the area of the immense State of Texas. Texas, which is generally recognized as underpopulated, has a population of close to 6,500,000.

#### IV.

All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlement and cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be protected in their rights, and shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.

#### VII.

. . . The Zionist Organization will use its best efforts to assist the Arab State in providing the means for developing the natural resources and economic possibilities thereof.

#### POSTSCRIPT INSERTED BY EMIR FEISAL

If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of January 4th addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement.

Many more formal treaties, entered into with all the panoply of power of great states, have been violated in the years elapsing since 1919. The Feisal-Weizmann agreement is cited not because it must be considered binding but because it helps one to understand the role that the area allotted to Palestine originally played in the calculations of Arab statesmen.

Lord Balfour made the British position clear when he said on July 12, 1930:

I hope they (Arabs) will remember that . . . the Great Powers, and among all the Great Powers most especially Great Britain, has freed them, the Arab race, from the tyranny of their bestial conqueror, who had kept them under his heel for these many centuries. I hope they will remember that it is we who have established the independent Arab sovereignty of the Hedjaz. I hope they will remember that it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing autonomous Arab state. And I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch—for it is no more geographically, whatever it may be historically—that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it.

Surveying the great gains made by the Arabs, the most passionate champion of the Arab cause must concede that the Anglo-Arab understanding has been more than kept by the British Government, for even "the little notch" was diminished by two thirds through the truncation of Transjordan. Years ago, the individual best equipped to judge the nature of Arab services in the last war and the extent of the pledges made to them by the Allies, Lawrence of Arabia, announced that the promises

made to the Arabs had been fulfilled: "We have come out of the Arab affair with clear hands."

Palestinian Arabs, and their supporters in the independent Arab States, reject this formulation. They claim that since the particular 1 per cent promised the Jewish people coincides with their own native territory they cannot find solace in the other 99 per cent. Palestine Arabs want the same national sovereignty as that enjoyed by Arabs of Syria, Saudi Arabia or Iraq. They decline to honor agreements to which they, as Palestinian Arabs, were never a party.

It is quite true that no negotiations were entered into with "Palestinian" Arabs as such. The reason was simple. There were no specifically "Palestinian" Arabs with whom to confer. The Palestine we know today is the creation of the Peace Conference and the Mandate. At the time of World War I the inhabitants of what is now Palestine were not recognized as a distinct Arab nation. Palestine did not exist as a political or national entity as far as the Arabs were concerned. For them it was merely a geographical locality, the south of Syria. Such of them as were Arab nationalists insisted that Palestine was and should remain "Southern Syria."

There is an authentic Arab nationalism whose force it would be folly to minimize. But there cannot be a genuine "Palestinian Arab" nationalism as divorced from the Arab nationalist resurgence as a whole. Whatever grievances the Arabs of Palestine may have, they cannot honestly claim that violence is being done to their national sense if they are asked to identify themselves in this respect with the Arabs of Syria or other Arab States rather than with a concept unfamiliar to them till the Balfour Declaration. Palestine, in its present boundaries, was designated to meet the specific national need of the Jewish people. The answer to the requirements of Arab nationalism was provided by the vast liberated territories already mentioned.

It has already been shown that the Arabs of Palestine have prospered and multiplied in far richer measure than any other Arab people. Their civil and political rights as individuals are safeguarded, as well as their interests as a religious and cultural community. Nevertheless they want the assurance of exclusive political domination. They do not wish to become a minority through the influx of large-scale Jewish immigration no matter what guarantees are given them. They suggest pointedly that the misfortunes of the Jews are not their affair.

To this one must say again, Jews are a minority everywhere and a majority nowhere. The strip of land, hallowed for them by history and promised them by solemn international covenants, is the only one on which they can live again as a people. Arabs, on the other hand, if they so desire, have the surrounding Arab countries, greatly underpopulated and

crying out for manpower, at their disposal. Neither the Arab world nor the Arabs of Palestine have the moral or legal right to demand that the United Nations violate their international commitments in regard to Palestine. Any Palestinian Arab whose sense of Arab nationalism is so acute that he cannot endure the prospect of living as a citizen in a Jewish Commonwealth, just as a Jew lives as a citizen of England or the United States, can gratify the full measure of his nationalist impulse in Iraq or Syria as faithfully as in "Southern Syria." He will have to make no new adjustments in language, religion, climate, social mores. There is less transition to be made—both in distance and change of environment—than in moving from one American town to another in a different state.

This does not mean that Zionism seeks the transfer of Palestinian Arabs. We wish merely to point out that there is no acute insoluble problem of Arab nationalism involved. The centers of Arab culture and religious worship are Damascus, Mecca and Baghdad, Medina and Cairo, not Jerusalem. The land of Palestine represents for the Arab, a tiny part of his huge territories, not an irreplaceable national whole. The bonds that tie the Palestinian Arab to his soil are those which attach a man to the house of his father, the street of his childhood, the town of his birth. These are undeniably precious ties, but they are not indissoluble and organic. Provided one can remain in one's own country, it is no catastrophe to move to another street or another town. The Palestinian Arab can still remain in his own country, even if a Jewish Commonwealth should be established in Palestine. That is an essential difference between the status of the Jew and of the Arab. And, above all, the Arab who does not object to his new neighbors, who wishes to stay and prosper, will continue to thrive as before. He will enjoy the full political rights and equality of opportunity assured every citizen of the Commonwealth and his interests as a member of a special religious and cultural group will be honored.

The Arab nationalist movement undoubtedly has autochthonous popular roots. In addition, however, it has been artificially stimulated by reactionary elements both within and without Palestine. The rich *Effendi* class has little enthusiasm for the intrusion of democratic ideas into the feudal Near East. The Arab *fellaḥ* has been kept in subjection and ignorance for centuries. He has been exploited and degraded. Jewish colonization, by the force of example, is arousing this dormant and backward world. The absentee landlord is afraid of unrest and dissatisfaction developing among the impoverished Arab masses. To channel this potential rebelliousness into religious fanaticism and a chauvinistic nationalism is an old trick. It is no accident that Arab leaders worked hand-in-hand with Hitler and Mussolini, and that Axis funds helped to finance the Arab disturbances in Palestine. Throughout the Near East, fascism has been the close ally of the Arab nationalist movement. The exiled Grand Mufti of Jeru-

salem has been feted in Berlin. A notorious collaborator of Hitler, the Grand Mufti organized Moslems in Jugoslavia to fight the Allies, and systematically instigated the Moslems of North Africa by radio. In Egypt, in Iraq, and in Syria Arab reactionaries connived with the Nazis against the democracies. The tune has changed since the victory of the United Nations appears assured, but the record remains. It is not irrelevant that the most inveterate and rabid fomenters of discord in Palestine have also been the most indefatigable foes of the democracies.

In assaying Arab and Jewish counter-claims, Arab consent cannot be viewed as the decisive factor. In so far as there were responsible Arab spokesmen during the period of negotiation regarding the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, such consent was forthcoming. Now, after the passage of nearly three decades during which Jews resurrected Palestine through their self-sacrificial toil and through the expenditure of large sums raised among the Jewish masses of the world, it is too late to ask for the approval of the Arab kings. If time had shown that an injustice had been committed through the international covenants pertaining to the Balfour Declaration, even the tightest legal case could not avoid revision, but the chief virtue of the Zionist position today lies in its record. The world is able to judge the actual achievement; it can see what Jewish blood and treasure have done for Palestine, for the Jews and for the Arabs. It does not have to rely on intentions or prophecy. In this respect, the Jewish case is morally stronger today than in 1917. And in respect to need, if there was urgent pressure for a Jewish homeland then, today that need has grown to catastrophic proportions.

The Jewish case, judged on the basis of present merit and past commitments, stands firm. The fact of Arab opposition neither weakens nor invalidates it, though it admittedly complicates it. Yet, despite this complication, the world can no longer evade a fundamental solution of the Jewish problem. Jews ask that the survivors of the European holocaust be permitted to immigrate freely into Palestine and together with the Jews already in Palestine, be enabled to set up a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth as originally envisaged by the Balfour Declaration.

In facing Arab opposition the decisive element is time. The Arabs today accept as accomplished fact the almost 600,000 Jews now in Palestine as against the 80,000 in 1920, even though they have on occasion resisted with violence the increase to the present numbers. If the proposal for the establishment of a Jewish state is carried through with determination and speed, the Arabs will finally accept the accomplished fact of the existence of such a state. But it is vital to this end that the Jewish population in Palestine be increased by mass immigration within the briefest possible time. A long transition period would provide an ideal opportunity for violent attempts to prevent the implementation of such a decision.

## IX. THE UNITED NATIONS MUST ACT

The United Nations are now at the height of their power and prestige. The argument that it is necessary to appease Arab intransigence can no longer be given. There is no German or Italian enemy with whom Arab potentates can align themselves, no hostile camp that they can join. The eagerness of the Arab States to be counted among the United Nations is indicated by their last-minute declaration of war on the Axis powers with whom they had previously intrigued. The Arab League, despite its avowed determination to oppose Zionism, is not likely to maintain a lone fight against a clear-cut settlement of the political future of Palestine made by the concert of the United Nations. Many potentially troublesome questions will have to be resolved at the peace table—probably none in which the area of territory involved, and the number of dissident inhabitants affected, is so small, and certainly none in which the nature of the grievance of one faction is so slight in comparison with the enormity of the wrong suffered by the other.

The postwar settlements of the United Nations must not be influenced by the threat of Arab displeasure. The great leaders of the democracies have little cause to quail before the shadow of the Grand Mufti or even of Ibu Saud. Though the desert monarch's kingdom may have rich oil deposits, these resources will not diminish because of the establishment of a Jewish State. Nor is it probable that profitable arrangements for their exploitation by the United States or Great Britain will be seriously impeded once the Jewish state has been set up. Threats to forego commercial advantages or to precipitate riots have bargaining power in an atmosphere of timidity and vacillation. They are not likely to be continued in the face of a resolute international decision.

The Arab world, set free by the Allies after World War I, now needs the assistance and capital of the western world for its development. Most of Egypt's imports, raw materials and machinery come from Britain and the United States. Saudi Arabia and Iraq are economically dependent on the democracies. Ibn Saud's weapons are supplied to him by the United Nations. Before the defeat of the Axis, these countries might have gambled on the support of Germany or Italy. Now they know that their future depends on cooperation with the United Nations. Once they are assured of the will of the United Nations in unmistakable terms, no "Holy Wars" are likely to be staged.

The whole structure of the future security organization is predicated on the assumption that unilateral action will be outlawed and that aggression will be suppressed. It is obvious that the peace of any region, and consequently of the world, depends upon the protection of peaceful states

against aggressors, rather than upon appeasement. The Act of Chapultepec has been hailed as a significant step toward insuring the security of the Western Hemisphere, whether attack should come from within or without the Americas. The same principle can serve as a guide for other sections of the globe.

Unless the world is prepared to lapse back into the international anarchy which precipitated World War II, the various regional groupings which fall within the framework of the United Nations will be subject to the authority of the Peace Conference and of the future World Security Organization. The Middle East is one of those regions. The erection of an Arab League or the prospect, remote or near, of some type of Arab federation, actually makes the immediate establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth more urgent so that the Jewish settlement in Palestine can be set up on a firm territorial and political basis while the situation is still fluid. The decision to reconstitute a Jewish Commonwealth cannot wait for some indefinite and hypothetically more convenient future. It must be taken while the new world order is in the process of emergence, and before political and territorial relationships have been stratified.

Some circles that have come to recognize the need for a Jewish State have suggested that this can be achieved by partitioning Palestine between Jews and Arabs. The Royal Commission sent to Palestine to investigate conditions after the riots of 1936, proposed that Palestine be divided into a Jewish and an Arab sector in which each people would be completely independent and sovereign. In its defense of partition, the Royal Commission stated the case for a Jewish State:

Partition enables the Jews in the fullest sense to call their National Home their own; for it converts it into a Jewish State. Its citizens will be able to admit as many Jews into it as they themselves believe can be absorbed. They will attain the primary objective of Zionism—a Jewish nation, planted in Palestine, giving its nationals the same status in the world as other nations give theirs. They will cease at last to live a "minority life."

It is significant that the Royal Commission, as late as 1937, envisaged the solution of the Palestine *impasse* in terms of a Jewish State—a mutilated, despoiled state, but nevertheless an area where Jewish nationhood could be sovereign. That particular proposal was later withdrawn by the British Government. However, other partition schemes continue to crop up. Zionists view any such proposals with deep apprehension. Dismemberment will jeopardize the viability of the Jewish State. Any partition which would exclude the Jews from access to the water resources of the North or the undeveloped land areas of the South, would disrupt the country's economic frame and wreck the chances of large-scale development. A proper land basis is vital to Jewish development. This entails the promotion of intensive farming throughout Palestine, and access to undeveloped areas scattered all over the country. The present area of

Palestine, one third of the territory promised by the Balfour Declaration, does not allow of any further fragmentation.

## X. THE WHITE PAPER

The first step to effect the salvation of the Jews of Europe must be the immediate abolition of the ignominious White Paper of 1939, issued by the Chamberlain Government in the most shameful days of the appeasement era. This White Paper provided that after an immigration of 75,000 during the ensuing five years, further immigration should be made dependent upon the consent of the Arabs; it announced that powers would be given to the High Commissioner to restrict Jewish purchases of land from Arabs. This provision was later incorporated in the Land Regulations of 1940, in accordance with which Palestine was divided into three areas: a) a small area of about 5 per cent of the country in which the Jews should be permitted to purchase land; b) a much larger area where purchases would ordinarily be prohibited but where exceptions could be made at the discretion of the High Commissioner in individual cases; c) two thirds of the country where land transfer to Jews is totally prohibited. Finally, the White Paper provided for the ultimate establishment of an independent Palestine State in which Jews should constitute not more than one third of the population.

This statement of policy, whose provisions impose a permanent minority status on the Jewish population of Palestine and create a territorial ghetto for Jews within the confines of the historic Jewish homeland, aroused a storm of protest throughout the world. It was attacked in Parliament by leading members of all parties and managed to pass only because the Opposition did not wish to overthrow the government at so critical a time. Churchill, as yet not Prime Minister, charged the government with filing "a petition in moral and physical bankruptcy." His eloquent denunciation of the White Paper, made in the House of Commons on May 23, 1939, bears repetition today:

There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration, but I will not trouble about that. I select the one point upon which there is plainly a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration—the provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped in five years' time by the decision of an Arab majority. . . . What is that but the destruction of the Balfour Declaration? What is that but a breach of faith?

What is it but a one-sided denunciation—what is called in the jargon of the present time, a unilateral denunciation of an engagement? . . . I cannot believe that the task to which we set our hand

twenty years ago in Palestine is beyond our strength, or that faithful perseverance will not, in the end, bring that task through to a glorious success. I am sure of this, that to cast the plan aside and show yourselves infirm of will and unable to pursue a long, clear and considered purpose, bending and twisting under the crush and pressure of events—I am sure that that is going to do us a most serious and grave injury at a time like this.

What will the world think about it? What will our friends say? What will be the opinion of the United States of America?

What will our potential enemies think? What will those who have been stirring up these Arab agitators think? Will they not be encouraged by our confession of recoil? Will they not be tempted to say: "They're on the run again. This is another Munich," and be the more stimulated in their aggression. . .?

The Labor Party attempted to move an amendment, declaring the White Paper's statement of policy contrary to the Mandate. Most important of all, the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations pronounced the policy illegal. The Mandates Commission unanimously declared that "The policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had placed upon the Palestine mandate." The Permanent Mandates Commission also took occasion at this session to reiterate criticisms which it had previously made of the Administration charging that the failure of His Majesty's Government to follow a firm and consistent policy had encouraged the Arabs to resort to violence in the hope of having the Balfour Declaration repudiated.

Despite this pronouncement of illegality by the authoritative body of the Mandates Commission, and the general condemnation elicited, the White Paper has not been revoked by Great Britain. It has stood as a bar to the rescue of Jews from the European slaughter-house even when technical facilities for such rescue were available. Certificates were not issued to Jews in the Balkan countries even at the moment when it was clear that they would shortly be overrun by the Nazis and that those who had managed to escape from Poland to Hungary or Rumania would also fall victim to Nazi butchery.

At the present time only a few thousand certificates of the original 75,000 remain. These few are being doled out among the desperately situated Jewish survivors. The Jewish Agency was able to distribute only 600 certificates to 26,000 refugees, including many orphaned children, who had managed to escape to Switzerland and are confined in refugee camps there. For the 350,000 Jews in Rumania and Bulgaria, most of whom are clamoring to go to Palestine, only 5,000 certificates were available. Refugees in liberated Italy are being sent to camps in North Africa because no certificates to Palestine can be allotted them.

Not only European Jews but Jews of the Orient are in terrible need

of resettlement to Palestine. There are destitute and persecuted Jews in Yemen and other Oriental lands who must flee from oppression and starvation. They, too, look for admission to Palestine as their only hope of salvation.

Orphaned Jewish children in the liberated countries who must become state wards unless they are reintegrated into the Jewish people; refugees in the democracies who have not managed to take root—the refugees at the Fort Ontario Shelter are a case in point—are all elements in the human tide which flows toward Palestine as its port of hope. The barbaric provisions of the White Paper must be repealed in the face of this overwhelming pressure of need and suffering. This unhappy relic of an unhappier past has no place in the shaping of the world's future.

## XI. PALESTINE'S ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY

When the demand for large-scale immigration, dependent only upon the capacity of Palestine to absorb newcomers, is made, the question of the absorptive capacity of Palestine is naturally raised. Opponents of Zionist expansion have frequently argued that there is no further room in this "little land" for a sizable influx of immigrants. In 1930, a British expert, after investigating conditions in Palestine, announced that there was no more room left in the country "to swing a cat in." This assertion was dogmatically made at a time when Palestine had a Jewish population of approximately 200,000. Yet since the issuance of that report the Jewish population has tripled, chiefly by the admission of refugees, and the Arab population has continued to grow at a rate of natural increase which is the highest in the world.

Absorptive capacity does not merely exist; it is created. Throughout the colonization of Palestine Jewish settlers have been demonstrating how each fresh piece of land irrigated, each new industry introduced creates room for more immigration. The employment of scientific methods of agriculture, the reclamation of barren soil, the generation of more electric power are all means of increasing absorptive capacity. Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, who has made one of the most recent expert surveys of Palestine, has written in his *Palestine, Land of Promise*:

Absorptive capacity, it must be remembered, cannot be measured by a yardstick. It expands or contracts in accordance with the degree of justice and security provided by the government of a country and in accordance with the genius of the people who occupy the land. We have seen how the absorptive capacity of ancient Palestine was built up by the labor and ingenuity of countless toilers during Greek, Roman and Byzantine times, until the resources of the country pro-

vided sustenance and prosperity for many times the population which inhabited Palestine at the beginning of the twentieth century. But we have also seen how the Arab invasions abruptly put an end to this prosperity, and how in the ensuing centuries exploitation, plunder and neglect of ancient conservation devastated and depopulated the land. Its absorptive capacity had, in other words, been sharply contracted.

If one wishes to have a notion of how much the mere use of improved methods of agriculture can do to increase food production, the following examples are illuminating: On Jewish farms the yield of wheat is 110 kgs. per dunam, as opposed to 48 kgs. on Arab farms; the Jewish yield of table-grapes is 450 kgs. per dunam, the Arab 175 kgs. In Jewish dairy-farms a yield of 3,500 litres of milk per cow is obtained per annum, in Arab dairy-farms only 500 litres; in Jewish poultry farms the egg output per hen is 150 per annum, in Arab farms only 40.

Here we see a difference in the creation of food supply even when compared with existent Arab farming. The most telling examples, however, are those which show what Jewish zeal has accomplished where nothing existed previously. Twenty-five years ago the Valley of Esdraeton was a malaria-ridden, uncultivated marsh. Today it is one of the show-places of Palestine because of its flourishing cooperative farms. More than 10,000 Jews live in the former fever-breeding swamp.

Jews have achieved this wonder of redemption on only 14 per cent of the cultivated area and 6 per cent of the total area of mandated Palestine. If Jewish creative energies are not deliberately thwarted, the reclamation of Palestine can continue to proceed at an inspiring rate. One of the projects to develop irrigation and power in Palestine is the Lowdermilk Plan, which proposes that a Jordan Valley Authority be created in Palestine, modeled after the Tennessee Valley Authority. The plan proposes to utilize the depression of the Jordan Valley, ending in the Dead Sea which is thirteen hundred feet below sea level. By drawing on the upper waters of the Jordan, and by bringing the Mediterranean waters into the Dead Sea through a tunnel, immense irrigation possibilities could be developed and hydro-electric power generated at low cost. The plan opens up immense vistas for the fertilization and industrialization of Palestine.

Population density is variable, depending upon many factors. According to the Statistical Yearbook of the League of Nations for 1936, population density in Transjordan was 7.3 per square kilometer; in Iraq, 10.9; in Syria, 16.25, and in Palestine, 45.4. But in European agricultural countries population density was 76 in France; 96.2 in Hungary, and 138.7 in Italy.

If the policy of the Palestine Administration will be to suppress Palestine's potentialities to the level obtaining in undeveloped, scantly populated Arab countries, Palestine's absorptive capacity will be artificially contracted. But if honest encouragement is given to the agricul-

tural and industrial possibilities of Palestine, conservative expert opinion holds that Palestine can support four million additional people.

## XII. A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

The Jewish Agency has prepared detailed plans for the absorption of refugees. These plans comprise reclamation works, irrigation schemes, and prospects of intensive agricultural and industrial development. They will require large outlays of capital. Above all, their execution will require whole-hearted devotion to the tasks. For these reasons, the Jewish Agency, recognized under the Mandate as the representative of the Jewish people, should be vested with the authority to direct and regulate immigration into Palestine and to develop to the maximum the resources of Palestine for Jewish colonization and for the benefit of the country as a whole. Those who contribute the labor, the skill, the capital, and the imagination should be entrusted with the responsibility.

The Jewish people asks for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth not because it seeks the trappings of statehood or empty national aggrandizement. The demand is based on the knowledge that only an unequivocal, clear-cut international decision to let Jews immigrate freely into Palestine and develop the full potentialities of the country can be an answer to Jewish need. To make such immigration and development possible, a clear-cut determination of the political destiny of Palestine must be made. A continuation of an ambiguous, half-hearted policy will merely promote strife and necessitate an endless series of amendments and contradictory interpretations by the governing power. All alternative proposals to a Jewish State suffer from the crucial deficiency that they fail to make large-scale immigration and development possible.

The hour is at hand for righting a great historic wrong. A place must be found in the comity of nations for the national genius of the Jewish people. This in no way involves a "double" allegiance or loyalty. Jewish citizens of the democracies will serve their countries devotedly and faithfully as before. The loyalty of an American, of French, Italian, or Swiss extraction is not impaired because of the existence of Italy, France or Switzerland. In the same way, no Jew's allegiance to his country can be affected by the creation of a nucleus of Jewish nationhood; but his spirit will be fed by the consciousness of a reservoir of Jewish creativeness and strength. He will be secure in the knowledge that the particular racial genius of his people can flower again and make its individual contribution to the world.

Above all, he will know that never again can a situation recur in which Jews can be annihilated as Jews, but no recognized voice can be raised in their behalf. We have seen what the lack of national representation has

meant to the Jews in the decade elapsing. Their flesh-and-blood martyrdom assumed a ghost-like quality because the great powers were unsure of their jurisdiction over foreign "nationals." It was easy to wrap a shroud of silence around anonymous suffering. We see today that every country, no matter how small its territory or population, can ask for and receive recognition as a partial arbiter of its destiny in the postwar world, but the Jewish people, though the most deeply injured, remains absent. A Jewish Commonwealth would give the Jewish people not only the soil for its normal growth, but a voice and a presence among the nations.

Public opinion in the United States and Great Britain solidly backs a Jewish Commonwealth because it is aware that the desire for Jewish nationhood does not spring from a petty, wilful chauvinism but from a long-festered need. The sympathy of liberal forces throughout the world is further motivated by the realization that a Jewish State could prove a source of light and progress for the whole stagnant Near East. Its example could bridge the gap between the West and the semi-feudal Orient, and release energies long wasted and dormant.

For these reasons, because of the historic bond between Israel and the Land of Israel, because of the grave international commitments undertaken, because of the actual record of achievement in Palestine resulting in the greater well-being of Arab and Jew, we ask that the United Nations at last fulfill the interest of the Balfour Declaration. We ask that in accordance with its present necessity and its age-old hope, the Jewish people be enabled to establish a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine integrated into the democratic world order which we trust will emerge after the victory.



